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Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, June 5, 1995)

The Senate met at 9:15 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we all have known grim days and great days. Some days are filled with strain and stress while on other days everything goes smoothly and successfully. Life can be simply awful or awfully simple. Today, we choose the awfully simple but sublime secret of a great day. Your work, done by Your power, achieves Your results, on Your time. We reject the idea that things work out and ask You, dear Lord, to work out things. Before us is a new day filled with more to do than we can accomplish on our own strength. You have given us the power of sanctified imagination to envision a day in which what is truly important gets done. Help us expeditiously to move through the amendments presented today, to listen to You through each other and make guided decisions. Pull our anchors out of the mud of combative competition. Lift our sails and remind us that it is Your set of our sails and not the gales that determine where we shall go.

Lord, we believe that the work we shall do this day is crucial for our Nation. Help us to complete the assignment of finishing the antiterrorism legislation for the welfare of our people. This is the day You have given. We intend to live it to the fullest with Your guidance, by Your power, and for Your glory. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, for the information of my colleagues, this

morning there will be a period of morning business until the hour of 9:45 a.m. Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the antiterrorism bill, S. 735. By consent, Senator BOXER will be recognized at that time to offer an amendment. A cloture motion was filed on Monday with respect to the Hatch substitute to S. 735. Senators with first-degree amendments listed in the agreement on S. 735 are reminded that they have until 12:30 p.m. today to file amendments in order to comply with rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

The Senate will stand in recess from 12:30 p.m. until 2:15 p.m. in order to accommodate respective party luncheons. Senators should be aware that rollcall votes are expected throughout the day and a late-night session may be required in order to complete action on the antiterrorism bill by the close of business today.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SNOWE] is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of honor and privilege to be here today to join some of my female Senators in paying tribute to Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who passed away on Memorial Day, after 97 years of courage, bravery, integrity, and pioneering spirit. I would like to

join the people of Maine, the Nation, and my colleagues in saying goodbye to Margaret Chase Smith, forever the Senator from Maine. She lived through two world wars, 17 Presidents, and outlived over 70 years of communism. She was given 95 honorary degrees throughout her life, almost 1 degree for every year of her time on Earth.

She was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President George Bush at a White House ceremony in 1989.

She was a teacher, a telephone operator, a newspaperwoman, an office manager, a secretary, a wife, a Congresswoman and, for 24 years, a U.S. Senator. She rose from the humblest of beginnings to the highest corridors of power.

But she was also a leader, an inspiration, a nation's conscience, a visionary, and a woman of endless firsts.

She was the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate. She was the first woman to be elected to both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. She was the first woman to face another woman in a U.S. Senate election campaign.

She was the first woman to become a ranking member of a congressional committee. She was the first woman to serve on the Armed Services Committee. She was the first woman to serve on the Appropriations Committee. She was the first woman to be elected chair of the Republican Conference.

She was the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for the Presidency by either major political party in 1964. She was the first civilian woman to sail on a U.S. destroyer in wartime. And, not surprisingly, if you knew her, she was the first woman to

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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brush Heaven's horizon and challenge the skies by breaking the sound barrier in a U.S. Air Force F-100 Super Sabre fighter.

She was a woman of many firsts, a daughter of Maine, a trailblazer for women, a patriot of America.

Today we come to remember two things: We remember a legend, and we remember history, the history Margaret Chase Smith of Skowhegan made throughout her 32 years of outstanding public service to the people of Maine and the citizens of America.

From the very first day I met Margaret Chase Smith, I often wondered if she ever knowingly set out to make history in 1940 as she began her service in the House of Representatives. Today, I realize Margaret Chase Smith never charted a course to make history or pursue it. The fact is, history merely followed Margaret Chase Smith.

It was when her husband, Congressman Clyde Smith, died in 1940 that Margaret Chase Smith found herself thrust into political life.

Shortly after his death, she won a special election to fill the unexpired term of her late husband, and then went on to win the June Republican primary and win, of course, the November general election.

Mrs. Smith was going to Washington, and she would be there for 32 splendid years in both the House and the Senate.

She ran for the Senate when Senate majority leader Wallace White, of Maine, announced that he would retire in 1948. So she decided to run for that vacant seat. After beating both Maine's incumbent Republican Governor and a former Governor in the June primary, Smith went on to claim victory in the general election, beginning the now famous litany of firsts that would act as proud landmarks and milestones in her life.

It is safe to assume at this point in her life most of Maine knew about their newly-elected junior Senator, although she was not yet a household name anywhere else. But America was about to find out exactly who Margaret Chase Smith was. During one of the Nation's darkest hours of history, Margaret Chase Smith never shone more brightly as a beacon of reason, fairness, and courage.

The spring of 1950 was a dark and tragic time in American history. They were days of poisonous rhetoric, rage, fear, suspicion, and hate.

Senator Joseph McCarthy had made sensational and unsubstantiated charges that had turned him into a national celebrity and purveyor of blatant opportunism—charges about Communist spies and Soviet-sponsored traitors throughout our Nation's governing institutions. He held the American consciousness hostage to his hate-filled tactics, and no one dared to stand up to Senator Joe McCarthy. No one, that is, except Maine's own Senator Smith.

On June 1, 1950, in her first major speech on the floor of the Senate and

as a freshman, Margaret Chase Smith spoke out loud the words that much of America had thought quietly to themselves.

A Republican with a strong allegiance to her party, Smith nevertheless retained her independent Yankee spirit and was known to be a maverick on some issues important to her as a matter of conscience, rather than as a matter of politics.

So it was that Senator Smith began one of the most famous speeches in American history, the "Declaration of Conscience," with the words, "I would like to speak briefly and simply about a serious national condition." I would like to quote from that. She began by saying:

I speak as briefly as possible because too much harm has already been done with irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism. I speak as simply as possible because the issue is too great to be obscured by eloquence. I speak simply and briefly in the hope that my words will be taken to heart.

I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States Senator. I speak as an American.

For the next 15 minutes, her words resonated across America and struck a chord with the hearts and minds of all Americans. Senator McCarthy sat directly behind her, a fitting position for him to be shadowed in light of her reason and integrity. She had done in 15 minutes what none of her 94 other colleagues had dared to do for months, and she never mentioned Senator McCarthy's name in the process.

I should mention that she sat in seat No. 1, where the President sits currently, when she made this most important speech.

In slaying a giant of demagoguery, Margaret Chase Smith stood and courageously defended what she termed "some of the basic principles of Americanism," and I would like again to quote from her speech. Those principles, she said, were:

The right to criticize;
The right to hold unpopular beliefs;
The right to protest;
The right of independent thought.

She went on to say that:

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or the livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs.

Bernard Baruch once said had a man made that speech, he would have become the next President of the United States.

Almost exactly 45 years to the date—June 1 of last week—after she spoke those brave words, her voice of reason still reaches across the years and follows her spirit skyward.

In 1972, her public service career concluded. When she retired, she left another legacy of her dedication to public service: A near-perfect attendance record in Congress. She held, until 1981, the all-time consecutive rollcall voting record in the entire history of the U.S.

Senate with 2,941 consecutive rollcall votes spanning 13 years. Only a much-needed hip operation in September 1968 kept her from casting her vote on the floor of the Senate.

Not known for displaying idleness as a personal quality, Margaret Chase Smith spent the next 23 years of her life after politics lecturing at dozens of colleges and universities across this country, and worked tirelessly to establish what is now known as the Margaret Chase Smith Library Center at her beloved home in Skowhegan, a small town where she was born almost a century ago.

I know that I and other women in public service have a very high standard to meet in her wake and some rather large shoes to fill as we walk in the footsteps of Margaret Chase Smith. Fortunately for us, those shoes had heels.

Indeed, Margaret Chase Smith showed how a woman's place can truly be in "the House * * * and the Senate." She was an inspiration to millions of young girls and women all across this country who never before thought they could aspire to any kind of public office. She showed us through her talents, abilities, and energies that opportunities for women did exist and that the door to elected office could be unlocked and opened to all women. But most importantly, what Margaret Chase Smith's life proved is it is not necessarily gender which makes a difference in public service, it is dedication, it is energy, perseverance, competence, and the will to get the job done.

At last, she has reached a final resting place amongst the angels. George Bernard Shaw once said, "In Heaven, an angel is no one in particular." I would have to say George Bernard Shaw never knew Margaret Chase Smith, because she was truly one of the "better angels among us," to use the words of the President of the United States. But I am sure in Heaven, as on Earth, Margaret Chase Smith will come to be known as someone quite "in particular."

It is only fitting she requested her epitaph to read: "She served people."

Well, she certainly served them and she served them well. So it is with a mixture of pride and humility that when I am referred to as "the Senator from Maine," I know well this is a phrase of honorable and distinguished past. Hearing those words will always evoke images of an individual who gave Maine some of its proudest moments. That phrase is a daily reminder of an individual who had the will and integrity to speak out vigorously when silence was a safer course.

Margaret Chase Smith once said,

If I were to do it all over again, I would change nothing. I am very proud of my public service. I have no regrets * * *. No regrets, no changes—I would do it all over again."

I know I speak on behalf of Maine and my colleagues when I say I wish you could.

Mr. President, I now yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Maryland who is the dean of the Democratic women in the U.S. Senate, who is the first Democratic woman, like Margaret Chase Smith, to have served both in the House and in the U.S. Senate and also the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate from the State of Maryland.

So I am pleased Senator MIKULSKI could join us today in this tribute to Margaret Chase Smith.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Maine for recognizing me.

I rise today as the dean of the Democratic women to salute a great and grand lady, a daughter of Maine, Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

Growing up as a young girl, there were very few role models that I or women of my generation had for women participating in politics. Certainly, there had been Eleanor Roosevelt who served as the First Lady of the United States of America. But during the fifties, as a high school girl, I admired two great women—Clare Boothe Luce, who was a Congresswoman, and also Margaret Chase Smith from Maine. And going to a Catholic woman's high school and college, these two women were always held up as models and examples. In those days, we did not have words like "role models," but they used terms like "examples," about how women could retain their femininity and dignity and yet participate in the dynamic world of politics.

When I came to the U.S. Senate, I was struck by the many parallels in the lives between Senator Smith and myself. I was deeply honored to follow in her footsteps. Until 1992, only 17 women had served in the U.S. Senate. Only five of those women had been elected in their own right and there was one who served only 1 day, but that was not Senator Margaret Chase Smith. For four distinguished terms, she served in the U.S. Senate and was a woman of many firsts and many accomplishments.

The similarities in our backgrounds were brought to my attention by the Senate Historian when I came here. Senator Smith was the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate in her own right. I was the first Democratic woman elected in my own right. She was the first woman to serve in both Houses. I, when I came, was the first Democratic woman to serve in both Houses, and now I am delighted to say I have been joined by Senator SNOWE of Maine and Senator BOXER of California. Senator Margaret Chase Smith, in one of her elections, defeated another woman for the job that raised eyebrows all over America in that spirited combat. I defeated another woman in my general election, and I must say we not only raised eyebrows but we

raised a bit of a decibel level in the debate.

Senator Smith was a member of the Appropriations Committee, and I have the honor to be appointed to that committee as well. Senator Smith was on the Board of Visitors at the U.S. Naval Academy and I, too, share that great honor. Only when she was there during the dark days of the beginning of the cold war through her term, there were no women at the Naval Academy, and I think she would be delighted to see the accomplishments and advancements of those women.

She was also the first Republican woman who held, or perhaps the only woman to hold, a leadership position in her party for many years. Just recently, I had the opportunity of being chosen by my colleagues to be the Secretary of the Democratic caucus. I bring these issues to the Senate's attention not because I want to draw attention to myself, but to the fact that the parallels here were so inspirational to me. When one comes to the Senate, and my colleagues on the floor, the other women Senators, know how tough it is to be the first in many areas; often they know how tough it is to be the first and the only. When I turned to the history books and see Margaret Chase Smith, and when I came here and joined Senator KASSEBAUM, I was so fortified, so inspired, it really gave me guiding principles to follow here in the U.S. Senate.

However, there are things that differ Senator Smith from myself—not only of different parties, but Senator Smith, as a young girl, was an outstanding athlete. That was not my forte. And, also, she did something I believe no other woman has done in the Senate—she was a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve and served in the Reserve Forces. Senator SNOWE spoke at great length about the declaration of conscience. I hope that all the women of the Senate and all the men of the Senate feel that same sense of responsibility to speak out where necessary.

When I was elected, I invited her to my swearing in. She could not come but sent me the most gentle and encouraging note. I believe if she were here today, she would like this Senate. She would look at her own party and see another daughter of Maine joining the U.S. Senate and with great admiration, admire Senator SNOWE's moving quickly to responsibility in both fiscal matters and in foreign affairs. She would be delighted to see Senator KASSEBAUM chairing the Committee on Labor, Education, and Human Resources, showing that we can meet our fiscal responsibility, look out for America's day-to-day needs, and yet meet the long-range needs of our country. She would admire the fact that Senator HUTCHISON had joined the U.S. Senate and was taking up the role of women on the Armed Services Committee. I think she would like Senator BOXER's spunk; Senator FEINSTEIN's executive ability; Senator MURRAY being

the voice of a mother to the U.S. Senate, a young mother; Senator CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN's ability in housing, banking, and also judicial affairs and being willing to take on the tough issues in making her own declaration of conscience. I think she would like me here on the Appropriations Committee, saying, BARBARA, watch out for the money, watch out for the country and you will be OK.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Maryland for her wonderful tribute and testimony to Senator Margaret Chase Smith. I know she would enjoy the comments the Senator has made. They are fitting and most appropriate for a woman who served her country and her State and constituents well.

I now will yield to Senator KASSEBAUM of Kansas, who was the first woman elected from Kansas. In fact, this was the second woman ever to be elected in her own right to the U.S. Senate, and the first woman to be elected to the Senate without first having been preceded in Congress by a spouse.

Senator KASSEBAUM and I had the pleasure of joining Senator Smith at her home back in October 1992, and I know those were special moments we will always treasure and share. I am pleased that Senator KASSEBAUM could be here today to participate in this tribute. I yield the Senator 4 minutes.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I appreciate the Senator from Maine, Senator SNOWE, speaking this morning and introducing all of us and being able to pay a brief tribute to a remarkable woman and a great Senator.

I did not have the privilege of serving with Margaret Chase Smith in the U.S. Senate, but I did have the privilege of knowing her. I want to comment for a few moments. My colleague, Senator SNOWE has recounted many of the milestones in Senator Smith's career. I would like to speak about the spirit of her service and what it has meant to me and to so many others.

I thought Senator MIKULSKI spoke extraordinarily well about what each of the women who serves here today bring out, which is a culmination of many of the things that Senator Smith stood for in her long career of public service. She was a woman who refused to ever be bound by stereotypes or labels. She was not a woman Senator, she was simply a Senator. Her interests were wide-ranging because they were her own and not a narrow agenda imposed by gender, region, or parochial concerns. She was a true expert on defense matters, military preparedness, space exploration, and NATO.

She had deep and strongly held concerns about civil rights law, education policy, and the rules of the Senate. She had a high regard for the institutions of Government and a great respect for the institutions of Government. She denounced the red baiting of the 1950's and the left-wing orthodoxy of the

1960's. She spoke both gently and forthrightly, but always went from personal conviction and principles. She is rightly remembered as a Senator with great spunk, intelligence, and commitment. She sought not only to represent the people of Maine, but also to fulfill her responsibilities to the Nation as a whole.

In her 24 years in the U.S. Senate, she spoke always with honesty and clarity, seeking facts and judging each issue on its merits. Those are high standards, Mr. President, a worthy legacy to pass on to those who will follow her in this Chamber.

I am honored to be able to pay tribute today to a great lady, a fine U.S. Senator and an inspiring legacy.

I yield the floor.

Ms. SNOWE. I thank Senator KASSEBAUM for the wonderful statement she made about Margaret Chase Smith. I know I have those long memories and recollections of our visit with her. It was truly inspiring because of what she had accomplished in both the House and the Senate, but I think more significant is the fact of when she accomplished it. Her accomplishments are as remarkable today as they were then in terms of our standards and the ability of women to participate in the public arena. There are still many obstacles, but there is no doubt there were many more in the 1940's. The fact she was able to have an extremely challenging race in 1948 with an incumbent Governor and former Governor and still came on top. After attacking Senator Joe McCarthy in terms of what he had done to this country, he got somebody to run against her.

She still came out with 82 percent of the vote as a resounding victory, not only for Senator Margaret Chase Smith but for this country, condemning the kind of tactics he employed.

Now it is my pleasure to recognize the Senator from Texas, Senator HUTCHISON. Many women are firsts here. Senator HUTCHISON is the first woman to be elected from the State of Texas to the U.S. Senate, but she is also the second woman in the history of the U.S. Senate to serve on the Armed Services Committee, the other woman being, of course, Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

It is my pleasure to yield 5 minutes to Senator HUTCHISON.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I do want to thank my colleague from Maine who followed in Margaret Chase Smith's great footsteps. I appreciate the fact that she has set aside this time for Members to pay tribute to the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate in her own right.

I am really proud to follow women who actually knew Margaret Chase Smith, because when I was growing up, I certainly never thought of running for the Senate. However, I remember people talking about Margaret Chase Smith, not as anything unusual, but as a fine Senator, respected in her own right. "One tough hombre," as we would say in Texas.

I think the fact that she served so well as an early woman Senator made it much easier for those woman Members who would follow in her footsteps.

"Mr. President, I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a U.S. Senator. I speak as an American." Mr. President, although any one of my speeches could have started in that way, those words came, in fact, from a speech more profound than any comments I have ever made on this floor. These are the words with which Margaret Chase Smith started her "Declaration of Conscience" in 1950.

I rise to pay homage to a woman who embodied clarity of conscience and strength of character during her 24 years in this Chamber.

As my colleague from Maine has said, Margaret Chase Smith led seven other Republican Senators in their condemnation of Joseph McCarthy's tactics in accusing numerous Americans of Communist actions.

Although opposed to Communists in America and abroad, she objected to the scope of Senator McCarthy's investigation when it began to harm the reputations of many innocent Americans.

A true leader, Mr. President, she did this at a time when she only had 1 year of experience in the U.S. Senate. She was quick to go to the forefront. She led her colleagues against Senator McCarthy's inaccuracies when they became clear. Senator Smith's commitment to truth and justice made her transcend partisan considerations, to stand up for what she believed was right.

In order to reflect her distinguished career properly, we should also remember Senator Smith's many other accomplishments. Throughout her four terms, one of her primary interests was military readiness of our Nation. She was the first woman to serve on the Armed Services Committee. Women in the Armed Forces will always remember her as the mother of WAVES—the women's branch of the Navy.

Like many of the senators on this side of the aisle, she worked to protect our technological advantage in the cold war by voting against the Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

In an age when men dominated politics, she was a leader at bringing women into the political process. Senator Smith became the first woman placed on the ballot for nomination for President by a major political party. At the Republican National Convention of 1964, she received 27 votes on the first ballot.

Margaret Chase Smith was a role model. She led the way for others to follow. She left her mark. She was, in fact, an architect of the Nation's cold war defense. She was a credit to the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, as the only other woman to serve on the Armed Services Committee, I hear many stories about the great Margaret Chase Smith and her time on that committee. I hope to

live up to the high standards that she set. I honor her service. I offer my condolences and those of all Texans to the family and friends of Margaret Chase Smith. May she rest in peace.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to extend morning business for an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, first of all, I want to thank the Senator from Texas, Senator HUTCHISON, for her outstanding statement on behalf of Margaret Chase Smith. I know that Margaret Chase Smith would certainly have been delighted and thrilled to hear the remarks that were made here this morning and the work she has performed on the Armed Services Committee.

It also reminds me, as I have heard the statements here today, that it certainly is true that she blazed a trail for women, because we are all firsts here in our own right. If she had not blazed the trail, I am not sure we would be here today. We have all established our trademarks in the way she would be proud, and she would be proud and thrilled by the statements made on her behalf.

It now gives me a great deal of pleasure to recognize Senator BOXER from California. For the first time in the history of California, there are two women Senators. Senator BOXER has the honor of being only one of four in the U.S. Senate to have served in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Mr. President, I am glad to yield to the Senator from California 5 minutes.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, I say to my friend from Maine. She and I served as good friends over on the House side. It is a privilege to be part of this tribute today.

I think it is so extraordinary that a woman like Margaret Chase Smith could bring to this Senate floor Republicans and Democrats who speak of her with such fond memories. I think Senator HUTCHISON found things in Senator Margaret Chase Smith's record she can identify with. I certainly find those, as a Democrat. This says something very special about this woman, that she would be so revered on both sides of the aisle.

Obviously, it is in order to send condolences to the family—the many nieces and nephews, and her sister, Evelyn Williams. I hope that through the sadness of their loss, they certainly can reflect with pride, as we are, on the remarkable life of Margaret Chase Smith.

When you lose someone, whatever age they are, it still is a very painful experience. I am sure they are going through that pain. Just a couple years ago, I read an interview that Margaret Chase Smith gave to a major national newspaper. Believe me, she was sharper than many Members are, at the ripe old age of 95. She lived for nearly a century.

When we think about it, she lived through World War I, World War II, the beginning and the end of the cold war. She lived through women's suffrage and through civil rights. She saw her country and her world grow in many amazing ways.

But she never just sat back. She made history herself and, in doing so, touched many lives, including my own.

I was a child of the 1950's—the time of the “Happy Days,” Doris Day movies, the Debbie Reynolds days—when pert women with personalities glowed and danced their way through the perfect life and right into the arms of Eddie Fisher guys, who would sing to them until their dying days.

Politics was not even in the realm of the possible for women, except for Margaret Chase Smith and just a few others.

My mother was an F.D.R. Democrat through and through. Yet, she used to point with pride to Margaret Chase Smith. “Imagine what she must be like,” my mother would say. “One woman among all those men. She must be something!” And she was.

Margaret Chase Smith arrived in Washington in 1935, the wife and secretary of Representative Clyde Smith of Maine. Her career began suddenly in 1940 when her husband died and she won a special election to take his place. She went on to serve four terms in the Senate, making her the first woman in history, as my colleague from Maine has noted, to serve in both Houses of Congress. And I think, more significant than that, she was one of the most popular legislators of all times.

She earned her reputation as the conscience of the Senate in 1950, when she became the first in her party to attack Senator Joe McCarthy for his politics of hate and fear and, in doing so, she definitely, in my opinion, blazed trails. Because it does not matter what year it is, what century it is, the fact is there are people in politics who will play the politics of hate and fear and it takes courage to stand up to it, and she taught us how. You can imagine the shock in the Senate when she said, “I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity.”

When asked later about the courage she mustered to give that declaration she said, “Oh, my! I'll say it was difficult! But someone had to do it * * *. The more I thought of it, the more I thought, someone has to do this.”

I think that is, again, a lesson to us, because sometimes it is very hard to stand up and say something that is unpopular. It is tough to vote for something unpopular, but it is even tougher to stand up and say something unpopular. She was willing to do it and I think, as such, is really a guiding star for both women and men in politics.

That was not the only time Senator Smith defied party unity. She voted for

F.D.R.'s New Deal and for Federal support for education, just to name a few. So, therefore, I point out that both Republicans and Democrats can find things in her record that they can identify with.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for just 1 more minute.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I yield an additional minute to the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you so much.

In her own words, Senator Smith served in Congress in a time when “people felt, as the Constitution says, that people are the Government.” I think this is a time when all of us in this Chamber yearn to see that again. We are the Government. Anyone who attacks the Government, such as the kind of thing we saw in Oklahoma City, is essentially attacking America.

In 1975, the long reign of the Lady of Maine—and now we have another Lady of Maine—ended when she was defeated in her fifth run for the Senate. She said, “I hate to leave the Senate when there is no indication another qualified woman is coming in. If I leave and there is a long lapse, the next woman will have to rebuild entirely.” In fact, there was a long lapse, but how proud she must have been to see OLYMPIA SNOWE make it and become another Lady of Maine.

I am certainly proud to be one of the many women—and I say there are many of us now, perhaps not enough, but many—to be here today to honor the life of a true pioneer, one who came before and cleared the path for others to follow, one who served as a role model for all of us. Now young women can say: Yes, I can grow up and be a U.S. Senator. I can find the courage to stand up and do what is right.

I again thank my colleague from Maine for giving me this time. Margaret Chase Smith, although she lived 97 years on this Earth, will be missed. But I believe her presence will always be in this Chamber.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to extend, for 5 minutes, morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I just want to finish, before my colleague from Maine sums up this tribute, by thanking the Senator from Maine for doing something very thoughtful. As we go through our workdays and we do not stop to think of some of the important milestones that happened in the world, in the United States, in the Senate, the Senator from Maine has done something very special, and that is to point out that there are so many women, now, in the Senate that we could take 45 minutes from the business day to pay tribute to the first woman who led the way for us.

I think, as we heard the remarks that were made, that each person is following in some way a wonderful lead that was given to us by the great service that Margaret Chase Smith gave to our country; that is, to lead with dignity, with class, with continuity through four terms.

I think the tribute today is a wonderful thing to show the first woman, in fact, made it possible for eight women to follow her and to have in our own right a voice at the table on the Armed Services Committee or in our respective States. I think it was wonderful for the Senator from Maine to make this time possible.

Ms. SNOWE. Will the Senator yield?

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I will be happy to yield.

Ms. SNOWE. I appreciate the comments of the Senator because I think it is true that in no small part it is due to Margaret Chase Smith's presence here that today we have eight women in the U.S. Senate and a record number in the House of Representatives. She certainly served as an inspiration as we began our political careers. I know the first time I visited with her when I decided to run for the House of Representatives, and then more recently when I did have the opportunity to see her last year after I announced my candidacy for the U.S. Senate, she told me to give it all I had, to work very hard, to leave no stone unturned, which is what she always did. I think we needed to have role models like Margaret Chase Smith who would blaze that trail for us to make that possible.

After all, she was born 23 years before women had the right to vote in this country. The fact that she was willing to follow through on an extensive political career, 32 years, is remarkable in and of itself.

So I thank Senator KASSEBAUM, Senator HUTCHISON, Senator FEINSTEIN, and Senator BOXER.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, 45 years ago last Thursday, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine rose from her seat in this Chamber and delivered a speech she called a “Declaration of Conscience.”

Many historians believe this speech marked the beginning of the end of the era of McCarthyism. And it also marked the finest hour of the remarkable career of Senator Smith, who passed away last week at the age of 97.

I was privileged to serve alongside Senator Smith for 4 years in the Senate. She was as she has been described by many others. No nonsense. Fiercely independent. And sometimes as thorny as the red rose she wore every day.

During her 32 years of service in Washington, Senator Smith accomplished many firsts. She was the first woman to be elected to both Houses of Congress. She was the first woman elected to the Senate who did not succeed her husband. She was the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for President by a major political party.

As she made history, Senator Smith became a role model for many women. One of them was my wife, Elizabeth, who has told me of the time in 1960, when, as a young college graduate interning on Capitol Hill, she called upon Senator Smith.

Not many Senators would share an hour with a total stranger seeking advice, but that is just what Senator Smith did. And she advised Elizabeth to bolster her education with a law degree—advice she eventually followed.

When President Bush presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Senator Smith in 1989, he said that she “looked beyond the politics of the time to see the future of America, and she made us all better for it.”

President Bush was right. Both this Chamber and America are for the better because of Margaret Chase Smith. I know the Senate joins with me in sending our condolences to the people of Maine.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues today in commemorating Margaret Chase Smith, the Republican Senator who made history as the first woman to win election to both Houses of Congress, and the first woman ever to be elected to the Senate.

It is a privilege to be a U.S. Senator. And I am grateful to Margaret Chase Smith for paving the way for me, and the women before me, to serve in this great Chamber. And more importantly, I salute her for being an inspiration, setting an example by being tough yet compassionate.

Senator Smith's accomplishments were great. Among them, a long list of firsts, including being the first woman to sit on the Naval Affairs Committee and to have her name advanced for the Presidency at a national convention. But it is here legislative record and her long history of independence—always voting her conscience, that has left a last impression on me.

She was a political independent, voting with her party when she saw fit and standing alone when she felt strongly about an issue. Indeed, in her first major address to the Senate on June 1, 1950, the freshman Senator denounced Joseph McCarthy. She accused the Wisconsin Senator of reducing the Senate to a “forum of hate and character assassination.” In 1954 she voted for his censure.

McCarthy exacted his political payback—expelling Senator Smith from a key committee and, in her next election, leading a vicious campaign against her. Still, it was that speech that was the beginning of the end of his career and which cemented her place in history.

In 1970, during the Vietnam war, she addressed the Senate again in a speech that was later expanded into a book called “A Declaration of Conscience.” In that speech, the Maine Senator warned Americans that “excessiveness and overreactions on both sides is a clear and present danger to American

democracy.” Senator Smith knew that if we did not elevate the level of political discourse beyond mean-spiritedness, that we risked chipping away at the democratic process itself.

Her standing up for what she believed earned her the moniker “the conscience of the Senate.” But she stood her ground without resorting to personal invective or shrill tactics. It is this sort of reasoned debate and moderation—the very principles that this Chamber has always stood for—that should continue to guide those of us who sit here today.

Margaret Chase Smith was born in Skowhegan, ME. Her father was the town barber and her mother was a part-time waitress. She herself earned only a high-school education. She taught grade school, was a telephone operator and the circulation manager for a weekly newspaper where she met her husband, Clyde Harold Smith. When, in 1940, her husband died of a heart attack, she successfully ran for his seat in the House of Representatives. She served four terms in the House. Later, in the Senate, she served on the Appropriations, Aeronautical and Space committees and was the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee. She also was the chairwoman of the Conference of Republican Senators. Senator Smith served under six presidents—from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon.

Although she advanced considerably in what was considered a man's world, Senator Smith did not consider herself a champion of women's rights. Yet she wrote legislation that paved the way for women to serve in the military and later voted for the equal rights amendment. By her example, Senator Smith pioneered the way for many women, including myself, to enter the political arena.

Late in her career, Senator Smith said: “I have no family, no time-consuming hobbies. I have only myself and my job as United States Senator.”

It is in her job as a U.S. Senator that Margaret Chase Smith distinguished herself, and that she will always be remembered and honored.

Ms. SNOWE. I thank my colleagues once again for their participation in this tribute to a remarkable woman who led a remarkable life, and all the causes she espoused in her political career would serve us well today. It certainly serves as an important reminder of the standards we should establish as public servants, and hopefully that will carry through the years to come.

With that, Mr. President, I conclude this tribute to Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before contemplating today's bad news about the Federal debt, let us do that little pop quiz once more. Remember—one question, one answer:

Question: How many million dollars are in \$1 trillion? While you are arriving at an answer, bear in mind that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the Federal debt that now exceeds \$4.9 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business Monday, June 5, the exact Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,903,927,957,327.07. This means that every man, woman, and child in America now owes \$18,615.39 computed on a per capita basis.

Mr. President, back to the pop quiz: How many million in a trillion? There are one million million in a trillion.

COMPREHENSIVE TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 9:45 having arrived and passed, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 735, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 735) to prevent and punish acts of terrorism, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Hatch/Dole amendment No. 1199, in the nature of a substitute.

Hatch (for Smith) amendment No. 1203 (to amendment No. 1199), to make technical changes.

Hatch (for Pressler) amendment No. 1205 (to amendment No. 1199), to establish Federal penalties for the production and distribution of false identification documents.

Hatch (for Specter) amendment No. 1206 (to amendment No. 1199), to authorize assistance to foreign nations to procure explosives detection equipment.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMPBELL). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I want to make a brief statement so all my colleagues understand the situation. We were supposed to start this amendment at 9:45. I have been prepared since last night. I was here on the floor at 9:30 this morning and have been here straight through, but I do feel it crucial that the chairman of the committee be here because he and I are trying to work out this amendment.

I think it very important that he hears my arguments. It is a very straightforward amendment that deals with extending the statute of limitations to give our law enforcement people more of a chance to go after and arrest and convict those who would violate some very serious laws that are on our books.

I have brought this amendment to the Senate floor because of Oklahoma City, and I feel it is so important that I have sent a message through the Republican leadership that I will be ready